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TO THE PEOPLE

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

UNION SOCIETY

My Friend

You remember PAINE, baptized "Tom"; for our aristocracy and money-mongers are so frugal that they cannot afford so long a word as "Thomas" in such a case. Our old friend "Tom," who gave tyranny harder knocks than any man that ever lived, concluded his dedication (which he addressed to WASHINGTON) to that thunder-bolt, the first part of the *Rights of Man*, in these words: "That the new world may regenerate the old, is the fervent prayer of your most obedient servant, THOMAS PAINE."

This prayer of our old friend "Tom," who was born, let it be remembered, at THETFORD, in Norfolk, is very likely now to be fulfilled. You have been at work in the regenerating of us, ever since you raised the standard of "liberty, property, and no stamp act." The sousing which you gave to our long list of heroes in the last war, did still more towards our regeneration. The cheapness of your Government is continually working our regeneration. But, now, you seem to have set about finishing the good work; for, if you root out the accursed, and ever accursed paper money, we are regenerated indeed. If you destroy the accursed thing, we cannot keep it? and, then, freedom will once more be safe in this world. Ever praised and blessed be the name of ANDREW JACKSON: a child compared to him was WASHINGTON, even in war;

but WASHINGTON, with the best of motives, and truest patriotism, suffered himself to be seduced by HAMILTON, into the making of an infernal system of funding and paper money, of which you have, at last, experienced the ruinous, the oppressive, the tyrannical effects.

You, however, want no instruction from me, upon this subject. In another part of this *Register*, I do myself the honour, and my countrymen the great service, of republishing the MEMORIAL OF THE PEOPLE OF NEW YORK TO THE LEGISLATURE OF THAT STATE. They ought to listen to them; and the paper money must be destroyed. I take this MEMORIAL from the "*Working Man's Advocate*," published at NEW YORK, on the 4. of this present month of January. And I read, with infinite delight, that, at the same newspaper-office, my works are reprinted, and are for sale. Thus it is, that we assist one another against the monster that would devour us. I concur in every word of this memorial: it is admirable from the beginning to the end: it is the voice of the industrious people of America; it speaks the sentiments of every sensible man in England; and those sentiments must prevail.

In this present *Register*, a copy of which I shall contrive to get to the editor of the paper which contains your memorial, you will find an account of the burnings which are going on in the country in England; you will also find a paper, coming from what is called a "Labourers' Friend Society"; and you will find my observations on both these subjects. If any part of you be Englishmen, or even descended from Englishmen, you cannot but feel some degree of sorrow and of shame at seeing this famous country reduced to such a state. Reason will tell you, that there must be a cause adequate to such a tremendous effect; and if you have read my *Paper against Gold*, and my *Protestant Reformation*, you will see that effect traced to its true source. It

is, however, the "History of George the Fourth," which I am now publishing in numbers, which will show you the cup of our calamities brought to our very lips; and, at every step you will find, that the cause of our great degradation and ruin has been the damned paper money.

Your attention I urgently solicit, to these articles which I have now pointed out; and the attention of my English readers, I still more urgently solicit, to that sensible and public-spirited MEMORIAL, which I shall ever deem one of the greatest ornaments of this my publication; and for which I beg you to accept of my most grateful acknowledgments.

That your President may stand firmly to his resolution; that you may stand firmly by him; and that the pillaging, plundering, thieving, desolating, monster of paper money may be destroyed in your country, flesh, blood, sinews, veins, bones, skin, hair, and all; is the sincere prayer of

Your faithful friend,
and most obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

RURAL WAR,

AND

LABOURERS' FRIEND SOCIETIES.

THIS war seems to rage with more fury than ever, as appears from the following article which I take from the Suffolk paper. The country papers are full of these horrible accounts; but, in this particular instance, there seems to be general consternation prevailing, pretty nearly as general as would be occasioned by the expectation of the approach of the day of judgment. But, I will first insert the article; and then offer a commentary upon it.

"HALESWORTH, SUFFOLK, Jan. 28.—
"On Friday morning about five o'clock,
"there was another 'Swing' fire in this
"neighbourhood. The fire was in the
"stack-yard of Mr. James Taylor, of
"Spexhall, which is only about two

"miles from Halesworth, and is on the
"Norwich road. Owing to timely dis-
"covery it was limited to one stack;
"that, however, was a large wheat
"stack, and it was entirely consumed.
"Mr. Taylor, whose property was thus
"designedly destroyed, is the father-in-
"law of Mr. James Johnson, the mi-
"nister's-churchwarden of Halesworth,
"whose straw-stack was burnt on the
"night of Christmas-day, and for the
"author of which devastation the extra-
"ordinary reward, raised by subscrip-
"tion, of 575*l.* has been offered. That
"reward, as yet, seems to have had any
"thing but the proper and *desired ef-*
"*fect*; instead of leading to the dis-
"covery of the culprits, it appears only
"to have directed blind vengeance
"*against parties who were concerned in*
"*or contributed to the reward of 575*l.**;
"which is offered in bills exhibited in
"all the shopkeepers' windows here,
"and circulated largely in the county.
"Since the reward which was offered for
"the fire at Mr. Johnson's, a threaten-
"ing letter, of the most decided cha-
"racter, as far as words can go, has been
"sent to Mr. Johnson; and the hostility
"has been extended by setting fire to
"the stacks of one of the principal sub-
"scribers to the reward, Mr. F. Robin-
"son, of Dunwich. Mr. Johnson was
"also a subscriber. During the exten-
"sive fire at Holton (three quarters of a
"mile from Mr. Johnson's of Hales-
"worth), where so many corn-stacks
"were consumed, the labourers present
"evinced so much levity on their return,
"that it seemed as if they were *coming*
"*from a fair*, and not from the destruc-
"tion of property that had caused so
"much consternation in the country
"around. While the extensive fire of Mr.
"Prime, of Holton, was raging, the agri-
"cultural labourers not *only refused to*
"*assist in subduing the fire*, but they oc-
"cupied the time in the most wanton
"and riotous manner. They entered the
"house of Mr. Prime, and *consumed or*
"*carried off all the catables that they*
"*could gain possession of*, consisting of
"pickled pork, some gallons of spirits,
"&c. It is expected that a meeting will
"take place in the course of a few days,

"at the Angel-inn, Halesworth, to concoct measures to arrest, if possible, the progress of these dreadful acts of incendiarism, and which have, in spite of the enormous reward offered to detect criminals, so rapidly multiplied, and spread so much alarm around the neighbourhood. It is understood that the Earl of Stadbrooke has agreed to take the chair on this occasion. His Lordship promptly forwarded his subscription towards the reward of 575*l.*, namely, 500 guineas from subscribers, and 50*l.* from the Insurance Office."

Reader, do you know any thing of this county of *Suffolk*? It is the *crack*-county of England. It has a parish-church in every three square miles, or less; it is the best cultivated, most ably, most carefully, most skilfully, of any piece of land of the same size in the whole world; its labourers are the most active and most clever; its farmers' wives, and women employed in agriculture, the most frugal, adroit, cleanly, of any in this whole world: it is a county of most frank, industrious, and virtuous people. Its towns are all cleanliness, neatness, and good order. What, then, can these things take place in such a county, without any assignable cause? There must be some cause. We often hear of the negligence, carelessness, wastefulness, idleness, of the people, as being the cause of their poverty and misery. Three years ago, I went *all over the county of Suffolk*. I do not say, nor pretend, that I went into even a majority of the *parishes*; but I could not have gone through less than two hundred out of the five hundred parishes; and I never shut my eyes, except when I do it for the purpose, in order to go to sleep. I not only rode along the roads from town to town, but I went out into the villages, which it has always been my delight to survey. There is one distinctive mark of carefulness and neatness, and that is unbroken windows; windows where the place of glass is not supplied by paper or rags; and I could take my oath that I did not see (and I looked very sharply for it) one single instance of this in this county of *Suffolk*. Why, it is a county

of corn and cattle, the far greater part of which is produced by manual labour; for it is an arable county. It is a county of plentiful produce; a county in which the labours of the people produce, I dare say, seven times as much as they consume.

Such is the county in which scenes, like that above-described, are taking place; and can there be a Parliament in the country, and that Parliament not *inquire into the cause* of such a state of things? I have a letter from *Suffolk*, which quite sufficiently accounts for these horrible transactions, but which I do not publish, because it contains *names*, and because I have not proof of the facts at hand, though I believe all the facts. These facts show, that if the Ministers had followed my advice in the latter part of 1830, instead of contriving, in conjunction with the Tories to prosecute me, we should not now have heard of these things; and it signifies nothing, to talk and to rail; for, if the Parliament cannot find out a remedy for this evil, it had better not meet at all any more; if this thing be let alone, if a remedy be not found, and applied, there will very soon be an end of all the laws of property.

However, I will confine myself at present to a remark or two upon the peculiar circumstances attending these fires in *Suffolk*. They have been attended, not with new circumstances, but with circumstances new in print. We perceive, that a man, who had had a straw-stack burnt on the night of Christmas-day, and who is the parson's churchwarden of *HALESWORTH*, got a subscription for a reward of 575*l.* for the discovery of the offender. Upon twenty occasions I have observed, that this offer of high rewards must necessarily tend to increase the number of fires; because every labouring man knows, though he be perfectly innocent of the crime, and of all intention or desire to commit such crime, this reward may possibly bring him to the gallows. I am not lawyer enough to say, whether such rewards be *legal*; whether the common law of the land do or do not hold them in abhorrence; but this I

know, that they hold out a temptation to poverty so very great, that they can be justified in the eyes of no man of humanity, except upon the presumption, that the working people of England are the most religious, most conscientious, and most sternly virtuous, that ever existed under the sun. What! call the people degraded; call them destitute of morality; call them impious and irreligious; and, at the same moment, tempt them with the sum of 575*l.* if they will but swear that one of their poor neighbours, who was in his bed at the time, set fire to a straw-stack!

Do those who tendered this temptation, consider the magnitude of it; consider its power? Do they consider, that here are twenty-eight pounds fifteen shillings a year for ever; that there is an annuity of fifty pounds a year for the average life of man, after he be come of age? Do they consider, that this offer is made to labouring people, whose year of full wages does not exceed twenty-six pounds for the hardest of hard work, while they are in the prime of life; do they consider, that every man, however poor, and however inoffensive, is extremely singular, if he have not, amongst his neighbours, some man, some woman, some lad, some girl, to entertain spite against him, or against some of his family? Do they consider, how powerfully this reward must operate on that spite; and must they not know, then, in what peril they are placing the life of every working man in the neighbourhood of HALESWORTH? Supposing this mere reason to have no effect upon their minds, have they had no experience of the terrible consequence of such temptations? Have they not heard several magistrates of Essex give it as their opinion, that a man who was hanged for setting fire, was hanged upon false evidence, and for the sake of the reward obtained by the informer; have they not seen, in Kent, a cunning old man give a foolish young man the tinder-box wherewith to set fire, and afterwards come, and get the reward in consequence of the conviction and hanging of that young man? Do they not know the history of THOMAS GOODMAN,

of BATTLE, whose lying pretended confession about me was published; whose confession, got from him by a parson, and by magistrates of Sussex, was proved to be false by a hundred and three witnesses, who signed their names to a declaration, and would add their oaths to that declaration, if necessary? GOODMAN was not offered a pecuniary reward, to be sure; but this we know, that he was sent from LEWES to HORSHAM to be hanged, for having set five fires with his own hand; and, as was proved upon the trial, set them from *private malice*. We know that *his life was spared*, while a man who had set one fire, and that, too, not from private malice, was taken out of the same jail and hanged. I will stop here to observe, that this affair of GOODMAN must not end, if I live a little longer, without an inquiry into the matter. There were public rewards to a very considerable amount, paid for the detection and conviction of this THOMAS GOODMAN; and the people should know something about the *distribution of that money*. It is pretty curious; but, I think, I am able to prove it, that this the worst of all the incendiaries *had a subscription made for him when he went off on his voyage to Botany Bay*; and that this subscription *was made, in part at least, by those who received public money for his detection and conviction*.

Let that rest there for the present; but these instances, without mentioning the bills of indictment thrown out in Berkshire, the Grand Jury being so clearly convinced of the false evidence of the informers, and of their mercenary and bloody intentions. These instances are quite enough to show, that, to offer high rewards in such a case, is to expose to imminent peril the life of every poor man in the neighbourhood; aye, and of every poor woman, every poor lad, and every poor girl. Doubtless, those who offer the rewards have no desire to put in peril the lives of innocent people: their wish is to get at the guilty; but the innocent people know very well that they do put their lives in peril; they know that, with such a re-

ward published, the life of every one of them is in danger, and they feel resentment accordingly; and, in some cases, really do the thing which the reward was intended to prevent them from doing. In a neighbourhood where one of these rewards is afloat, men are afraid, and naturally afraid, to move about in any direction after it is dark. They do not know how soon another fire may be set; and they do not know how soon the reward may send them to the gallows, especially as this is one of the cases in which circumstantial evidence must be permitted to have great weight. But, there is absolutely no protection to the poor man against the effects of these rewards. The fire-setter himself has only to have been out with a neighbour, in the night on which the fire was set, to go and swear that he saw that neighbour set the fire; the neighbour is hanged, and he has fifty pounds a year for life.

Now, do these tenderers of rewards believe that the working people do not see all this as clearly as I do; and as, I hope, they themselves now will? Do they believe that those whose lives are thus put in peril do not see the danger? And, if they consult their own experience, they will find that they never were put in danger themselves, by any one, without feeling anger against him, her, or them, who had put them in such danger. What! do they suppose that they can put people in peril of their lives, and not excite the hatred of those people, not excite in their bosoms feelings of deadly revenge? They are blinded by their own anger, or they would see that every high reward must necessarily add to the number of fires.

Thus, then, we are not to wonder at the facts stated in this Suffolk newspaper, which facts are these, that JAMES JOHNSON, the parson's churchwarden of HALESWORTH, had a straw-stack burnt on the night of Christmas-day; that a reward was raised by subscription to the amount of five hundred and seventy-five pounds for the detection of the firer of this straw-stack; that the offer of this reward, together with the names of the subscribers, were printed in hand-

bills, which were exhibited in shopkeepers' windows at HALESWORTH, and circulated largely all about the county. That, since the publication of this paper, a threatening letter has been sent to JOHNSON, he being one of the subscribers; that the hostility has been extended by setting fire to the stacks of one of the principal subscribers, Mr. F. ROBINSON, of DUNWICH. Whether Mr. PRIME and Mr. TAYLOR were actually subscribers, the article does not positively state; but, from the context, one would suppose that they were; so that, as I told Sir THOMAS BARING, with regard to his reward offered at MICHEL-DEVER, it was calculated to extend the fires, rather than extinguish them.

But, I must recur to the observation made before, relative to the character of the working people of England, and particularly the poor labourers, amongst whom it is taken for granted by all the *doctrinaire* crew, in particular, that all sense of morality is wholly extinguished. Mr. HUME, the other day, spoke of this degradation as an admitted truth; as a matter of course; as a thing as notorious as WELLINGTON'S bullet-proof window-shutters, or as the burnings of Moscow. I admit no such a thing. The working people are not what they were; but it is only because they are poorer and more miserable than they were. Children are not so dutiful to their parents as they used to be; but it is because they see their parents treated like scum, and see them possess nothing. It is because they see their parents standing outside of a window on a Saturday night, to receive their pay, instead of receiving it in the farmer's kitchen with a mug of beer in their hand. The excuse for treating them thus is, an assertion, that they are all become *thieves* and robbers and liars and villains, not to be trusted inside of a house. If this be the case, then, what are we to think of those persons who offer a reward of five hundred and seventy-five pounds sterling to any one of a herd like this; to any one of these wretched beings who will swear that another has been guilty of arson, who will offer fifty pounds a year for life to any one of

these wretches who will take away the life of his neighbour, against whom he may possibly have a grudge at the same time. What should we think of a man who would go in amongst the felons of NEWGATE, and offer a fortune to any one who would, on his oath, convict another of a crime? Yet, monstrous as this is, if it be true that the people be degraded to the point which they are described to be, to offer rewards like that that I have been observing upon, falls very little short of offering such rewards to bands of notorious felons.

However, the fact is, that, besides all these objections to the offer of such rewards, they fail of their object, as is clearly proved by the fact, that there has not been more than *one* conviction for about *forty or fifty* fires. This is, however, an argument against the assumed degradation of the people; for there is always a great reward offered; and there always might be a fortune made by villany and perjury; and the fortunes are not made; and the people, though so poor, have not lost all sense of morality and religion.

We are told here of the outrageous behaviour of the working men, and of their boisterous joy at the destruction of the farm-property; and this really is something approaching towards an open war against property; and this, too, observe, in a perfectly agricultural county, cursed with no great overgrown towns; and divided into parishes so numerous, as for the people everywhere to be almost immediately and constantly under the eye of a resident parochial minister. But, the duty of a Government, in such a case, is not to stand and stare, nor to think of punishments, but to work sedulously, and seek out the cause; to resolve to probe the evil to its very source, and then to apply a remedy; and, if a Government be incapable of doing either, then it is unworthy of being called a *Government*.

The proximate cause is evident enough to all who are not quite blind, or who are not brutal Malthusian philosophers; that cause is hunger and nakedness, want of a sufficiency of food, cloth-

ing and fuel. This arises from several causes, producing a want of sufficiency of pay; but, after this, the causes become less obvious, and require more searching into. It is a truth universal, that slaves will be insolent, disobedient, and faithless, whenever they dare; and, therefore, we are not to be at all surprised at really bad and wicked behaviour amongst men who are half-starved, and who are treated like dogs. During the whole of the regency and reign of George the Fourth, the constant aim of the Ministers and the makers of the laws, appeared to be, to make the lot of the working people as hard as possible; to take from them every little privilege enjoyed by their fathers; to harden the laws affecting them; to make imprisonment more severe, to discover new modes of punishing offences formerly deemed venial; to rely solely upon coercive measures. I have lately had to take a review of the laws passed during that regency and reign. First, I see the horrible new game law, providing transportation for poachers; next comes PEEL's new penal code, with death in every line; but what need we more than the fact, that it became felony to take an apple from a tree. The horrible new trespass-law next stares us in the face. Then come STURGES BOURNE's bills, with the hired overseers. This is followed by ELLENBOROUGH's act, *improved* by LANSDOWNE, under which act poor COOKE was hanged for striking BINGHAM BARING without doing him any bodily harm. To enforce laws like these, the justice of peace and the constable were not sufficient, and out came a *Bourbon* police. All the time crime went on increasing; and there is no man can tell where the increase is to end. If you would know the cause, the real cause, of the present horrible situation of the country, you have nothing to do, but to read the statute book of this regency and reign of George the Fourth: it was that regency and reign that brought the system to its utmost limit; and to the acts of that reign we must look for all that we now behold and lament. It was a reign of coercion;

a reign in hostility to all the principles of English government, and of Englishmen's hearts.

I cannot conclude these observations, without noticing a proposition made in Norfolk, to employ bloodhounds in the detection of incendiaries. In the *Norwich Mercury* of the 18. of this month, the following paragraph appeared :

" *Stack-burning*.—A very simple but certain means of ending this diabolical practice has suggested to our minds, from seeing the noble breed of THE BLOODHOUND or lyme dog still preserved by Mr. COKE, at HOLKHAM. If these dogs were kept and trained, which is by no means difficult, the moment one was brought up to the stack he would take the footing of the incendiary, and hunt him through the world. Their instinct is certain, their baying is terrific, and their strength and speed incomparable. We would not recommend such an expedient in any but such a case; incendiaries deserve to be hunted down, and it would be mercy in the end by the certain prevention of these fiend-like acts. Since this was written, we see that dogs have been employed at Reading to track some thieves."

Since the publication of this paragraph, the proposition has been again made in the same paper, in a more ample and more serious manner. The monster, who is a *black* one, I would lay my life, who makes the proposition, does not put his *name*. The dogs bred at HOLKHAM, too, by the famous old Daddy, who so foully libelled me, in the year 1823. For fifty years, our souls have been filled with horror at the accounts of hunting down negroes in JAMAICA, by the means of bloodhounds; but to this we are come at last. We had barracks first; next *Bourbon*-police; and now, if the Norfolk tyrants have their will, we are to have bloodhounds. The three B's, barracks, *Bourbon*-police, and bloodhounds! Oh! all will not do: the people of England, do what you will, will not, bloodhounds, or bloodhounds

not, be reduced to the state of the miserable creatures in Ireland.

I hope that Mr. HUMB was mistaken when he said that the Ministers had a scheme for altering the poor-laws, and of bringing all the parishes under the control of a *central board*. Such a scheme might make the matter worse than it now is; but, assuredly, it would not make it better. Why will Lords GREY and ALTHORP; why will Lord MELBOURNE, Sir JAMES GRAHAM, Mr. STANLEY, and Lord JOHN RUSSELL; why will they listen to these Scotch schemes; to this band of *doctrinaires* and political economists, who are perfect fanatics as to every matter of this sort; and who think that nothing is good that is above half-a-year old; and who have nothing to lose, by-the-by, if the people were to be goaded on to burn the mansions, and take possession of the estates? Do not these noblemen and gentlemen know, that a right to parochial relief is as firmly rooted in the minds of the people of England, as their right to live is? Do they not know that this is a great business of life with the working people; that it touches every soul of them; and that, to make any change, having in view the enfeebling of that right, would be a signal for general resistance, as far as they have the power to resist? They do know it; and knowing it, let us hope that they will not, to all the rest of the troubles of the country, and of their own troubles, add any scheme of this sort. If I were to judge from what I see going on in several parts of the country, and a specimen of which will be found in the paper which I shall insert at the bottom of this, I should be disposed to believe, or, at least, to hope, that the noblemen and gentlemen of England have, at last, seen that coercion, that punishment, that harsh treatment, are not the means to be employed to bring the people back to their ancient and proper feeling, with regard to the owners of the land. These proceedings of what is called the "*Labouring Friend Society*" (they being a specimen of what we see in other places), show that men of sense have, at last, arrived

at a conviction, that the fires are not to be extinguished by the bayonet, by a *Bourbon*-police, or even by blood-bounds. They have sense to know that there are no earthly means of preventing these fires, other than those means which will take the disposition out of the hearts of the people. Prevention is impossible, if the disposition exist: and detection is wholly impossible, except by mere accident. These gentlemen, therefore, labour to remove the disposition, and, to a certain extent, they are sure to succeed.

It is a curious spectacle to behold schemes on foot everywhere for giving the labourers *allotments of land*. Nothing can more clearly show the desperate state of the agricultural part of the community. Strange to behold! A dozen farms moulded into one in innumerable instances. Upon an average, four farms moulded into one within the last forty-three years: the little farms all swallowed up by the big farmers; and now allotments of land are given to the day labourers: so that we have the two extremes, farms on an average of five hundred acres, and labourers with allotments of a rood, or quarter of an acre. This is not the happy state: the happy and proper state was, when farms were from a thousand down to fifteen or ten acres, more and more numerous as they became small; and when the mere labourers, then comparatively few in number, were best off with nothing beyond their gardens and their pig-sties.

But, though the allotment system is not what one could wish, it is hard to say what better could be contrived; and, at any rate, the gentlemen who promote it deserve great praise, because it is sure to do some good, and particularly, because it shows a desire on their part to do good to this description of persons. At an agricultural meeting in the county of Buckingham, the Marquis of CHANDOS is said to have made use of the following expressions, which, in justice to him, I cannot refrain from inserting.

"Our plans of to-day must tend yet more to aid the farmer, by giving such

"inducement and reward to the labourer
"as shall induce him to earn his living
"without parochial assistance, and thus
"the parish rates will be reduced, and
"the farmer relieved. In my own family we have found the allotment system so advantageous, that in several parishes the rates have been greatly reduced, and in one entirely taken off. We have agreed to meet for the distribution of our rewards on Wednesday, the 21. of May, and I hope that we shall then assemble in great numbers, to make the day a festival, and by the distribution of the prizes to the meritorious candidates, prove to the poor that there is a body of men who are careful for their well-doing, and considerate of their condition. The bounty of the Sovereign will then be distributed, and I trust to see a propitious day, and numbers of glad and happy faces. By this means, encouraged as we are by our King in our good work, I hope so admirable an example will be copied all over the kingdom, and the labourer made contented and industrious. (Loud applause). We have been the first to take the field, and the first whom our gracious Monarch has honoured by his notice and encouragement. To create a right spirit amongst the labouring classes is the surest plan by which to ensure the peace and tranquillity of the nation, and the stability of the throne; and we are in duty bound, as Englishmen and agriculturists, to exert ourselves by every means that are open to us, to aid in effecting objects so desirable."

This is very good; and certainly, his Majesty is more likely to extinguish fires in this way than by special assizes, though one of the commissioners were "our right trusty and well-beloved Thomas WILDE." This is very good, a something to stay the plague; and it shows an excellent disposition in the Marquis of CHANDOS; but the Marquis is much too sensible a man not to know that it must be considered as a mere expedient, a mere means of quieting the working people; and that, at last, the monster of the funds must reach his estate. These allotments are

only poor-rates in another form. In the end they are just as costly as the poor-rates themselves. The labourers must either have what they want in wages, rates, or in land; but there is this of wisdom in the allotment system: it keeps the working people in better humour, and that is no trifling matter, when we do not know how soon it may be when the question is to be decided, whether the Jews shall have the estates, or those estates remain with their present owners. Here is the great question; here is the root of all the troubles. Thirty millions a year, to be paid in gold; and an army costing ten millions a year, altogether to be kept up in order to cause the thirty millions to be paid. This it is that is tearing every thing to pieces. How many times have I been accused of a desire to destroy the ancient institutions of the country! I never had such desire in my life; but have laboured all my life, since I have known how to labour in such affairs, to prevent such destruction, by destroying that system of funding and of paper-money which I always knew would destroy them all, unless it were itself destroyed. If this abominable system could break thousands upon thousands of farmers in America; if it could cause a want of employment there, what must it do here? It is here, at this time, actually breaking up the foundations of this ancient Government: for though there is no distinct proposition to take the tithes and parsonage-houses and glebes, and sell them for the benefit of the fundholders, that is the real meaning of the proposition; and, when the dissenters call upon the Ministers to abolish the church establishment, they really call upon them to give up its revenues to the Jews, though they themselves mean no such thing. It is not religion that is at work, but the tax-gatherer: the tithes and church-rates are a charge; there are so many charges that the people are unable to bear them all; by getting rid of these, they have more means to pay the taxes that go to the fundholders; so that, in fact, the monster comes unseen, and devours this great pillar of the state; and, when it

is too late, the parsons will discover, that I, whom they have so long, and by all sorts of foul means, endeavoured to destroy, am the only man who ever had the courage to propose the only measure by which they could possibly have been preserved.

The Ministers may resist for awhile; but they will not resist long; and it would not be worth while for them to resign their places, in order to avoid doing the deed; because somebody else must do it, if they do not; and, if the noblemen and gentlemen preserve their estates from the devourings of the same monster, they must owe the preservation, not to barracks, *Bourbon*-police, and bloodhounds; but to the goodwill of the working people who are their natural allies; and who have been alienated from them by that treatment which ought to be put an end to as speedily as possible.

At the first meeting of the committee of the Labourers' Friend Society, for the northern division of the county of Northampton, held at the White Hart Inn, Kettering, December, 23, 1833, present, Lord Viscount Stopford, Hon. Colonel Stopford, Sir Arthur De Capell Brooke, Bart., T. P. Maunsell, Esq., A. A. Young, Esq., John Booth, Esq., P. Pain, Esq., Rev. R. Vevers, Rev. I. L. Weatherall, Rev. J. Weatherall, Rev. H. Corrie, Rev. J. Hogg, Rev. H. Harris, Rev. P. Harris, Rev. I. L. Sutton.

The following resolutions were proposed for the adoption of the society, by Sir Arthur De Capell Brooke, and the objects embodied in them, were forcibly recommended by him to its attention:

Resolved: First. That the Labourers' Friend Society shall not confine its operations to the establishment, extension, and improvement of the land-allotment system, but will direct its exertions to the promotion of any measures that may tend to the general improvement of the labourer, and that its at-

tention shall be most anxiously turned to the reformation of his moral habits and character; in effecting which the mutual assistance and co-operation of the landed proprietors, and the clergy in particular, will be indispensably necessary.

2ndly. That such co-operation be most earnestly requested by means of a general circular, addressed not only to them, but to every one who may have it in his power, in any way, to forward the views of the society.

3rdly. That the society will do every thing in its power to induce landlords to effect improvements generally in the habitations of the lower classes, with a view of encouraging domestic habits; experience having confirmed it as an undoubted fact, that in proportion as the poor man finds his cottage more or less comfortable, so will he be found to be, in the same ratio, a frequenter of the alehouse and beer-shop. One most important object to which attention should be directed is, that in every cottage there should be, at the least, two sleeping apartments, with a view of preventing those scenes of indelicacy and of immorality, it is to be feared, which must result from nine and ten persons, and often more, of both sexes, and all ages, married and single, almost sleeping together. The general economy of the cottage should, besides, be carefully attended to, with regard to neatness and cleanliness, convenience of arrangement, healthiness, and comfort, &c.

4thly. That the society will do every thing in its power to effect a repeal of the Beer Bill, or such alterations as shall neutralize its most baneful and destructive influence on the minds and character of the labouring population.

5thly. That a main object of the society be the encouragement and promotion of all village societies tending to benefit the poor man, in order to revive the feelings of independence and forethought once so conspicuous in the English peasantry. Among these may be named Provident Institutions, Coal Clubs, Clothing Societies, and many others of a beneficial nature; also the inducing the labourer to place a certain

sum monthly, however small, in the Savings Bank; in order to promote the latter object, the society should endeavour by all means to effect the establishment of a Savings Bank at Kettering. Loan societies should also be formed, on the plan of supplying the poor and industrious labourer with temporary loans, should he want to purchase a pig, seed, wheelbarrow, tools to cultivate his allotment, or for the purpose of assisting him in any difficulty, distress, or embarrassment. Such loans would, in innumerable cases, be productive of the greatest benefit to the poor.

6thly. That the attention of the society be directed to the better providing the poorer classes with fuel during the winter months; the general supply of this necessary article being so scanty, precarious, and expensive, that the poor in this part of the county suffer very greatly in consequence. It is well known, that the climate of Northamptonshire generally is cold and damp, particularly in the northern part of it, principally on account of the large tracts of woodland, and the nature of the soil: Notwithstanding the former circumstance, wood fuel is extremely dear, from the difficulty and expense of carriage; the common price of good faggots, even in the forest district, being often as high as threepence halfpenny when retailed. Coal again is very dear at all times of the year, but particularly in the winter season, and parish officers in scarcely any instances, laying in a supply for the poor in the summer time; on this account, as also the very great expense of carriage, from the distance, coal is often as high as 1s. 8d. and sometimes 1s. 10d. per hundred. At this price the poor man cannot afford to purchase but a small and very insufficient quantity, and when it is considered how very inferior his clothing is, both with regard to quantity and quality, to that of his richer neighbour, how much scantier his supply of food, how much colder his humble dwelling, and how much more exposed he must necessarily be to the weather at all times, with at the same time, so di-

minished a stock of fuel, it may easily be conceived how very much the labourer suffers from cold and damp, during the inclement season of the year, to the great detriment both of his health and of his family, the latter being so dependent upon the former for support.

It is to the scarcity and dearness of fuel that the lawless habits of the labouring population in the forest villages, may, in a great degree be traced, from their being driven to the woods from childhood to procure fuel; from the wood-stealer, the transition to a poacher's life, is, in a woodland country, easy and almost natural, and from the latter to the gallows. If every farmer would render assistance by way of carriage towards obtaining a winter's supply of coals for the poor in the summer months, while they are cheap, it would afford the greatest comfort and relief to the labouring population in general. Should parish officers possess no convenient place of deposit, arrangements might be made for stowing the coals at the wharf, and drawing them away as wanted.

7thly. That the society shall direct its attention to the establishment of parochial associations, for the purpose of giving every possible encouragement to the honest and industrious labourer, by the institution of small annual prizes and rewards, for independence of parish relief, diligence, industry, and good conduct, the general economy and state of the labourer's cottage, the bringing up of his family, and cultivation of his cottage allotment.

8thly. That the exertions of the society would have a most beneficial tendency towards promoting both the social and moral welfare of the labouring classes, if directed to the dissemination of information really useful to the poor man, suitable to his station in life, and of which he might avail himself to the increase of his comforts and those of his family; such information should be imparted in plain country language, familiar to his ears and adapted to his capacity; it might also be interspersed most advantageously with

simple moral precepts and advice, conveyed in a friendly manner, and directed chiefly against the crimes and vices to which the lower orders are usually addicted, as poaching, thieving, drunkenness, sabbath-breaking, bad company, swearing, &c.

9thly. That the society will use its most strenuous endeavours, and exert its utmost influence in impressing parochial officers, farmers, and proprietors in general, with the deep importance of discouraging pauperism, of making every possible distinction between the moral, the industrious, the sober and well-disposed labourer, and the worthless, the idler, the poacher, and the habitual frequenter of the alehouse and beer-shop; to give the utmost encouragement and reward to the first, and to check, to watch, and to punish the latter by every means in its power: in a word, to make all possible discrimination between good and bad character, and the line of separation which ought ever to exist, far more distinctly marked and attended to than it is at present.

10thly. That the influence of the society shall be beneficially exerted, with a view of exciting reciprocal feelings of kindness, good-will, and gratitude between the poorer classes and those whom Providence has placed in superior stations, to convince the agricultural labourer, that the latter, while desirous that their own conduct shall afford a proper example, are really anxious to better his condition, and to remove every just cause of discontent, seeking only in return, and which they are determined most resolutely to exact and require, obedience to the laws, and an improvement in his moral habits and feelings.

Resolved unanimously: That the committee approve of the principles contained in the above resolutions, and that they be printed for immediate circulation.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

I HAVE just published the thirteenth number of this work. Dr. BLACK called the first numbers of the PROTESTANT REFORMATION "*pig's meat*." That "*pig's meat*" had a great hand in producing what we now behold with regard to the church; and this new trough full of "*pig's meat*," which will be brought to a close in seven more numbers, will, or I am very much mistaken, produce something of the same sort with regard to this whole system of sway. It was the transactions of this regency and reign that brought down the system, or that gave it the blow under which it is now staggering. The acts of the reign of GEORGE the Third were sometimes outrageously violent, and sometimes outrageously foolish; but it was in this regency and reign of the fourth GEORGE, of "*the Sovereign*," as they used to call him; it was the transactions of this regency and reign that inflicted the final blow; and we are just in the right time for giving a history of them, because we have *had time to feel their effects*, while we are not so far from them as to have forgotten them; and while a large part of the actors are still alive. This present number thirteen begins the history of "*the Sovereign's*" war with the *United States of America*. This war, though it took place only a few years back, is a matter of which the people of England know no more than they know of what is passing in the moon; and they never did know any more about it. It took place amidst events nearer home; and the base press, and the crafty Government, and the deeply-interested navy and army, kept all the facts totally hidden from the people. The histories of the war which have been written and published in America *have never been re-published here*. It is high time that this history be made known to the people of England. They feel how England is sunk, and how America has risen; but they do not know the why and the wherefore of all this. They feel the weight of the accursed debt;

but they do not know that the war of "*the Sovereign*" caused seventy millions of that debt, and created that powerful American navy which now makes the teeth of *some folks* chatter in their heads.

I intend to have some copperplate prints to this History.

1. The Frontispiece, exhibiting "*the Sovereign*" pulling up a large minnow at the end of a silver rod, and caught by a golden hook, and standing in a golden *gondola*, on *Virginia Water*, exciting the admiration of Lady CONYNNGHAM, "*Lord*" BLOOMFIELD, Sir WILLIAM KNIGHTON, and the "*Right Honourable*" Col. M'MAHON, while the "*Right Honourable*" Sir HERBERT TAYLOR, in the act of writing down the exploits of the sovereign.
2. Marshal NEX coming out to be shot, with the capitulation of PARIS tied about his neck.
3. The House of Commons, standing up with hats off, and clapping hands, receiving CASTLEREAGH on his arrival from the Continent, after the fall of NAPOLEON.
4. CASTLEREAGH, in his last great act, at NORTH CRAY, in Kent.
5. The gateway of "*the sovereign*," costing seventy thousand pounds; a chopstick sitting on one side, and a weaver on the other, dining upon potatoes and salt.
6. Soldiers shooting HONEY and FRANCIS at the funeral of the Queen.
7. The frigate Java knocked to pieces by the "*bits of bunting*."
8. The battle of NEW ORLEANS.
9. The famous battle on the Serpentine-river, where the American ships were all captured by the English, just about the time that the Americans were capturing all the English on Lake CHAMPLAIN: which last scene will be exhibited in another compartment of the same picture.

These, and some others, I intend as embellishments to this mess of "*pig's meat*," for I am determined to do all possible honour to the History of the Reign of "*THE SOVEREIGN*." I do not promise to give these little pictures,

but I wish to do it, and think I shall do it. The contents of the thirteenth number are as follows :

CHAP. VI.

AMERICAN WAR. — Grounds of it. —

Tyranny of impressment. — Motives of English Government. — Their deadly hostility to freedom. — Their employing Captain Henry as a secret agent in the United States. — Their treatment of Americans whom they had impressed. — Their shutting of them up in a prison on Dartmoor. — Their determination to destroy freedom in America. — John Wilson Croker's Manifesto. — Devastation of the towns and villages and plunder of the farm-houses on the American sea-coast. — Bloody works of our allies, the savages at French-town, on the River Raisin. — Sacking of the little town of Hampton, in Virginia. — Burnings at Washington. — Gross delusion of the people of England.

ANTI-BANK MEMORIAL.

To the Legislature of the State of New York, in Senate and Assembly convened :

The memorial of the undersigned, citizens of the said state, respectfully represents—

That it is with regret and alarm we have witnessed a course of legislation prevailing in this state, destructive of the equal rights of its citizens, depriving industry of its just reward, creating aristocratical distinctions, and thus at war with the republican principles of our Government. We allude in particular to the practice of chartering banks, with the privilege of issuing paper money, and with other privileges denied to all but the favoured few whom the legislature see fit to indulge at the expense of the many, which has given birth to the most stupendous system of fraud ever permitted in an intelligent community of citizens claiming equal rights ;

for by it the fruits of industry are wrested from the producer, and given to the idler and the speculator, without the value of an hour's useful labour in return. Its deplorable effects are deeply felt at this very moment : we present the singular and humiliating spectacle of a community rich in all that constitutes *true wealth*, yet on the verge of *moneyed* bankruptcy, which has not been brought on us by any national or domestic calamity, the loss of a market or the failure of crops, but solely by our iniquitous and absurd money system.

Before entering upon the injustice and impolicy of the paper-money and banking system of this state, we request the attention of our representatives to the following extracts from the constitution of the United States :

The 5th paragraph, section 8, article 1, declares that Congress shall have power "*to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.*" The first paragraph, section 10, same article, decrees, "No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; coin money ; emit bills of credit ; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts ; or law impairing the obligation of contracts."

Nothing can be plainer than these provisions of the constitution, giving Congress power to coin money and regulate its value, forbidding the States to emit bills of credit, or to make any thing but gold and silver a legal tender. This was a foundation for the circulating medium of the country that our revolutionary fathers rightly supposed would give a solid basis for exchanges and contracts in the community, particularly when they fortified it still further, by declaring that no state should pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts.

These honest and wholesome guarantees for maintaining a sound currency (with the exception of coining) have been more or less violated by the State of New York for the last forty-two years. In 1791, the first bank was

chartered—the first of those SEVENTY-ONE institutions in this state, which, under its authority and patronage, “*emit bills of credit*,” issue paper money, and, instead of Congress, *regulate the currency of this state*, by contracting or expanding issues, thus raising or lowering the value of money, and by that operation “*impairing the obligation of contracts*.”

With this simple statement of the case—a statement that cannot be contradicted—we might call upon a patriotic republican legislature to commence the work of restoring the people their constitutional currency, by a speedy repeal of the charters of those paper-money institutions, and withdrawal of their notes from circulation.

If the constitution is to be trampled upon by the very authorities solemnly sworn to “support” it, what reasonable hope can there be that the people should respect that instrument, or obey the enactments under it? They may wisely begin to calculate the value of a paper constitution as well as paper money, if they must bear the burdens it enjoins while deprived of the benefits it ought to confer. It is the height of mal-legislation to occupy unconstitutional ground. We have seen the outraged rights of a minority rouse a whole state to arms against the union, before its constitutional grievances were met with measures of redress.

But the pernicious effects of the system are as clear as its unconstitutionality, and imperiously demand from the legislature of a free people its total abolition. We will briefly notice some of its most prominent evils, in connexion with its injustice and impolicy.

The legislature, by chartering banking institutions, to emit bills of credit, places the circulating medium of the state in the hands of speculators, who at their pleasure can change the value of all its property; and by taking advantage of these changes, can and do enrich themselves on the losses and sacrifices of their fellow-citizens, thrown in their power by the curtailment of accommodations previously extended to profusion. These vacillations of the cur-

rency, so destructive in their effects on the honest industry of the community, are perhaps generally caused by events over which the banks have no control, but in order to save themselves, sacrifice those who deal with them; and the injury is felt more or less by every person except the few who have the means to profit by the general distress.

This view of the subject, no doubt, induced the following observations from the Safety Fund Commissioners, in their report to your body, in January, 1833:

“We must expect commercial embarrassments, deranging the accustomed business of the community, prostrating the credit of individuals, and subjecting the banks to extensive losses. We must not always expect to be peculiarly favoured with abundant crops and good markets. Too much currency, even in prosperous times, is an evil. It encourages profuseness of expenditure, and extravagance of living, hazardous speculations, and improvident investments. In some degree it enhances prices, particularly of those articles which are not the subject of exportation, and prepares the community, by making them familiar with plenty, to suffer far more severely by the scarcity, which in the ordinary alternations of business is sure to follow. It is the transition from a profusion to a scarcity of money that creates distress; and it is clear, that the more paper currency there may be afloat, the greater will be the distress by reducing it to that amount at which it can be sustained by the specie of the country. The man who has but lately invested his capital in property, and finds it suddenly depreciated in value, perhaps to the extent of his whole fortune, will look to the bank fund with but little satisfaction for the payment of the small amount of bank notes which he may happen to have in his pocket.”

These truths, coming from the quarter they do, are entitled to the most serious consideration. It would be the grossest injustice to place the property of the people on such a precarious foundation, even if the state possessed the consti-

tutional right to create a paper currency; but its utter impropriety is manifested in the fact that the regulation of the currency is one of the most important and delicate prerogatives of sovereignty, and as such is vested solely in the general Government, and confined to specie; while states are not only prohibited from issuing bills of credit, but even from coining. It has been a singular infatuation in the people of our state to permit for so long a period the worst violations that could be perpetrated on this point of the constitution; for if the privilege of coining had been usurped by the state, the coin would circulate for nearly its worth, or produce nearly its value for sale; and if corporations had been granted the privilege by the state, and became bankrupt, the holders of their coin would lose but little, if any, by their failure. A celebrated writer in favour of banks has observed, "A bank that keeps on hand a sufficiency of specie to meet all its debts, can never divide 6 per cent. interest." A reason of this character no doubt influenced our first speculators to violate the constitution rather by printing paper than by stamping gold and silver.

Our Government has not only given a tremendous power into the hands of a few monopolists and speculators, but has consented to receive their promissory notes in payment of taxes! These favoured individuals are permitted to make money of paper, while other citizens are not only forbidden that, but even to make money from gold and silver. By controlling the circulation of the state, this moneyed aristocracy are enabled to tax industry to an amount one third more than all the expenses of the state Government. The banks in the safety fund realized a profit from 1832 to 1833 of 2,253,663 dollars over and above their expenses; and if those not under the fund stand in the same ratio of profit and expenses to their capital, it will give a total of 3,041,707 dollars, clear of expenses. The aggregate capital of the 74 banks in the state amounts to 28,681,460 dollars; yet it appears from the commissioners' re-

port that the amount due from the community to those banks "varies but little from 53,000,000 dollars," and we pay interest on that at about 6 per cent. A real capital of 29,000,000 dollars let out by private capitalists at 6 per cent. would yield them but 1,440,000 dollars, while the community pays to the privileged companies, for rather less than that sum, 3,180,000 dollars. Now admitting, what nobody can believe, that they ever possessed 28,681,460 dollars solid capital, (as the 58 banks in the safety fund at their last annual exhibit only showed 1,792,000 dollars in specie), the people pay 1,440,000 dollars more to these privileged corporations than they would have to pay to private individuals; and if we take into account that probably not one third that amount in real money would be needed to do all our present business, and that from competition among capitalists the rate of interest would be reduced—the saving to the people of this state would be immense; besides the security of a circulating medium which would be out of the power of interested individuals to tamper with and free from the danger of being seriously affected by commercial vicissitudes; to this might be added the proceeds of the useful labour of those citizens now, by means of banks, subsisting on the labour of their fellows.

One of the worst evils flowing from our paper money and banking, is the introduction and support of a demoralizing and ruinous system of credit, that now governs all business, and makes a game of hazard of the pursuits of industry. This credit, however, is the very life of paper banking, as by it the arbiters of our fortunes, the paper-money monopolists, levy their oppressive tax; by it their favourites obtain the means to crush opponents in business, and extract from the industrious the fruits of their labour without giving a righteous equivalent: by it the rich are enabled to increase their wealth from four to ten fold, without rendering society any valuable service, while labour is depressed in a corresponding degree; it is the cause, directly and re-

motely, of a large amount of litigation, leading to poverty, distress, and ruin of mind and morals, as well as property. We conclude this part of our subject, by giving the views of a committee of our legislature in 1818.

"Of all *aristocracies*," said they, "none more completely enslave a people than that of *money*; and in the opinion of your committee, no system was ever better devised, so perfectly to enslave a community, as that of the present mode of conducting banking establishments. Like the Syren of the fable, they entice to destroy. They hold the purse strings of society: and by monopolizing the whole of the circulating medium of the country, they form a precarious standard, by which all property in the country, houses, lands, debts, and credits, personal and real estate of all descriptions, are valued; thus rendering the whole community dependent on them; proscribing every man who dares to expose their unlawful practices; if he happens to be out of their reach, so as to require no favours from them, his friends are made the victims. So no one dare complain.

"The committee, on taking a general view of our state, and comparing those parts where banks have been for some time established, with those that have none, are astonished at the alarming disparity. They see, in the one case, the desolations they have made in societies that were before prosperous and happy; the ruin they have brought on an immense number of the most wealthy farmers, and they and their families suddenly hurled from wealth and independence into the abyss of ruin and despair.

"If the facts stated in the foregoing be true, and your committee have no doubt they are, together with others equally reprehensible and to be dreaded, such as that their influence too frequently, nay, often already begins to assume a species of dictation altogether alarming, and unless some judicious remedy be provided by legislative wisdom, we shall soon witness

"attempts to control all elections to offices in our counties, nay, the elections to the very legislature. Senators and members of assembly will be indebted to the banks for their seats in this capital, and thus the wise end of our civil institutions will be prostrated in the dust of corporations of their own raising."

An important mischief, arising from the paper-money system, is the depreciation of specie it occasions, which being the basis of exchange between us and foreign countries where little depreciation exists, it follows that as money prices of commodities (labour included) are so much higher here than there, they have a very serious and extensive advantage over us. Such a state of exchange, could it be continued, would leave us in helpless dependance upon foreigners for many necessities as well as comforts of life. Congress, to enable domestic productions of labour to compete in our market with foreign, have thought proper to enact a bill of taxes called the tariff, a measure considered by some states so unconstitutional, unjust, and oppressive, that it has alienated their affections from the union, and has induced one state to oppose its execution by violent means. Had the currency of the country continued specie, as the fathers of the constitution intended, there would have existed no necessity for taxing one portion of the community to support another. The industry of a nation but lightly taxed, could triumphantly cope with another overwhelmed with demands from its Government. Thus the labour of our country is obliged to sustain the difference between a high and a low tariff, with the additional expense of its collection as well as the heavy tax raised by the privileged makers of paper money, which in this state alone amounted last year, as before said, to upwards of 3,000,000 dollars. On this question the Bank Fund Commissioners, in their report, 1833, observe, "It is believed, that at present, manufacturing capital is neither considered so safe nor productive as bank stock, and it might be worthy of the investiga-

"tion of the political economist to inquire how far, if at all, the necessity of protecting domestic industry, which is alleged to exist, may be due to ensure a large increase of bank capital throughout the union since the tariff of 1828, and to the expanded, if not overloaded state of the paper currency." Congress have ordered a gradual reduction of the tariff, which, when it shall come fully into operation, should our present bloated paper-money system remain, or be increased, will produce serious distress, no matter how industrious and economical the population. Goods will be imported cheap; and the mechanic will be unable to manufacture so as to compete with foreigners; his wages will be reduced to the lowest point, and that being found insufficient, he must give up his business, or live a beggar, not able to support and educate his family. Perchance even the refuge of the wilderness may be denied him, by Government's asking high prices for our public lands. How much sooner will this occur should Congress do justice to the country, and sweep away the petty paper incorporations that have such an illegal existence! or if they should collect their duties in specie, a measure we conceive them bound by the constitution and their oaths to carry into effect. With a receipt of from twenty to thirty millions, the Government may do much towards maintaining the legitimate circulation of the country.

By the third section of the act modifying the tariff, passed March 2, 1833, it is provided after the 30. day of June, 1842, that duties on imports shall be collected in ready money; and such duties shall be laid as may be necessary to raise a revenue for an economical administration of the Government, the value of the articles to be assessed at the port of entry. The principles of this act furnish powerful arguments why state legislatures should retrace the erroneous steps of their predecessors, and return to the honest and constitutional currency. Should we do this, when Congress, in 1842, shall enforce cash payment of duties, we shall be able to meet the

crisis without a shock; but should we continue in the reckless unconstitutional path in which we have run the last six years, during which thirty-six banks and seven millions of paper have been thrust on the people of this state; or should we even remain stationary, the distress *when that crisis arrives will be unparalleled*, unless anticipated by a previous explosion from commercial fluctuations, failure of crops, &c.

We shall notice the only argument deserving any attention in favour of paper money, which is, that there would not be specie enough to facilitate exchanges between citizens. In complete refutation of this assertion, it is barely necessary to advert to the well-known fact, that the prices of things under ordinary circumstances, are regulated by the amount of money in circulation, whether paper or metal; and further, that the difference is merely in name, if ten dollars under the constitutional currency should purchase as much as one hundred dollars of our spurious money does now.

Though we have not mentioned many points in the political, social, and moral welfare of the community, which are ruinously affected by the gambling nature of our false money system, we have adduced facts and arguments sufficient, we think, to stimulate an honest legislature to arrest the evil, and commence the work of reform.

We therefore ask our representatives to examine the supreme law of the land, contained in the national and state constitutions, and abstain from the exercise of powers not granted. We ask them to refrain for ever hereafter from granting special privileges to any citizen or citizens over the rest, as being the very essence of aristocracy.

We ask to be relieved from the paper-money system, because it is UNCONSTITUTIONAL; because through it we are compelled to pay an enormous tax; and instead of benefiting us, makes the value of all property fluctuating, and involves every citizen more or less in the ruin occasioned by the failure of speculations in which banks themselves, or their customers, may be engaged; be-

cause it meddles most injuriously with the industry of the community, being the sole prop of the present extensive and pernicious system and distribution of credit, fostering monopolies, and adding to the oppression of those who labour; because, if persevered in, it must finally lead to results as disastrous as the depreciation of the old Continental paper money, whereby thousands of the honest and industrious were despoiled of the laborious savings of years, and precipitated from a state of comfort to poverty and want, and because it has been a constant and fruitful source of corruption at the fountains of legislation, and a destroyer of the purity of elections.

MR. HARVEY.

I TAKE the following from the *Essex Mercury*. It has excited my surprise; but I will make a remark or two upon it, when I have inserted it, desiring my readers to look at the names of my lords the benchers.

(From the *Essex Mercury*, 22. January, 1834.)

DECISION OF THE BENCHERS OF THE INNER-TEMPLE ON MR HARVEY'S CASE.

Inner Temple—Bench Table, Thursday, 23. Jan. 1834—At a Special Meeting of the Masters of the Bench of this Society, to take into consideration the renewed application of Daniel Whittle Harvey, Esq., to be called to the Bar, accompanied by a copy of his petition to the Judges;

PRESIDENT:

Edmund Henry Lushington, Esq.,
Treasurer.

- Joseph Jekyll, Esq.,
- Sir James Scarlett, Knight,
- Sir Charles Wetherell, Knight,
- William Harrison, Esq.,
- Sir Alexander Croke, Knight,

• These gentlemen were benchers in 1821, but Sir Charles Wetherell took no part on that occasion. We are not certain whether his father-in-law, Sir Alexander Croke, was at that time a bencher.—ED.

The Right hon. Sir Edward Hyde East, Bart.,
Sir Robert Baker, Knight,
John Wyatt, Esq.,
The Right Hon. George Rose, Knight,
Henry Bickersteth, Esq.,
John Williams, Esq.,
Frederick Pollock, Esq.,
Horace Twiss, Esq.,
The Hon. Charles Ewan Law,
Thomas Coltman, Esq.,
Francis Ludlow Holt, Esq.,
Henry Hall Joy, Esq.,
Philip Courtenay, Esq.,

Upon taking into consideration the renewed application of Mr. Daniel Whittle Harvey, to be called to the bar, and the evidence adduced in support of the same, and the arguments of the learned counsel thereon,

“It is unanimously resolved—That the bench do not see any sufficient reason to alter the resolution of the bench, communicated to Mr. Harvey by the treasurer of the society, on the 13. of November, 1821, against his application to be called to the bar.

“EDWARD H. MARTIN,
“Sub-Treasurer.”

We have been favoured with the above resolution of the bench of the Inner-Temple, as the same has been communicated to Mr. Harvey. When read with attention, the artfulness of this resolution is as palpable as its harshness, not only to Mr. Harvey, but to a very considerable minority of the benchers. It is not stated that the “benchers” unanimously resolved, but that the “bench” did. This resolution, we have reason to believe, was preceded by a preliminary understanding that, whichever way the benchers decided, and whatever might be the division, the final decision itself should be treated as the unanimous decision of the bench. To illustrate this:—A motion is made in the House of Commons, and, upon a division, carried. It would be perfectly consistent in the minority to concur in a vote that such a motion had been carried; and in the present instance we have reason to believe that there was a bare majority even in favour of the

qualified resolution, that "sufficient reason" did not appear to alter the former resolution of 1821; and if those who voted upon that occasion, and were now virtually called upon to denounce themselves, or rather to do an act of tardy justice, had not interfered, and that actively, the resolution upon the present occasion would have been the reverse.

It would have been satisfactory to the public, to know how it happened, that the strong evidence now brought forward, which could not be adduced before, came to be regarded by these gentlemen as insufficient to affect an opinion necessarily formed in its absence; that opinion involving sentence of everlasting banishment against an individual, from a profession his talents would adorn.

My surprise has not been excited by the decision of my lords; but by Mr. HARVEY's having condescended to submit any thing relative to his character to this group of people. Eternal damnation is, doubtless, very bad; but I would run the risk of it, at any rate, rather than voluntarily submit a decision on my character to HORACE TWISS and his comrades. I would engage to prove, let me call for persons and papers and records, and give me the power of clipping off ears in case of perjury; I would engage to prove, that all that has ever been *alleged* against Mr. HARVEY; not been proved; there has been nothing worthy of the name of proof; but all that has ever been alleged against him does not amount to a fifty-thousandth part of what I can prove of fellows who have half their life-time been living upon the public money. Aye, and of scores of them, too. What! Mr. HARVEY, such a man as Mr. HARVEY, condescend to put the decision upon his character at issue before a bunch of fellows like this! This is what surprises me; I am not at all surprised at the decision of my lords the benchers; but surprised that *any man*, and particularly so clever a man as Mr.

HARVEY, should have voluntarily submitted his character to the judgment of these people. Some time ago, Mr. HARVEY published a pamphlet, which, I think, was addressed to BROUGHAM, that ranting EDINBURGH Reviewer, in which he stated, that BROUGHAM had promised him, and given him, in fact, the place of solicitor to some board, I have forgotten what board; and that he, BROUGHAM, afterwards informed him that he could not have the place, because Mr. MAULE *would not consent to it!* Does the reader know who and what this MAULE is? A few years ago he wore, pretty constantly, not a coronet upon his head, but a black pen behind his ear, which he drove in all sorts of hard and rough work for some master-attorney, whose name I have forgotten; and that this MAULE is now what they call "Solicitor to the Treasury"; and that he had to go in person and meet my attorney to strike the jury, by which the Whigs had the wisdom to cause me to be tried in 1831. Now, in the relationships of life, supposing men and things to be in their proper places, this MAULE is to the Lord Chancellor much about that which my cow-boy is to me, when I am at my farm. I mean, not the chap that milks the cows, and weans the calves; but the little heedless dog to whom the cow-milker is duly, morally, and legally authorised to give a flicking, now and then. To get at this boy, I go down through the carter, the thrasher, the cow-herd, and the under-carter. To come in contact with MAULE, BROUGHAM must go down through Lord GREY, Lord ALTHORP, that delightful group, called the Lords of the Treasury, Mr. SPRING RICE, and, I believe, another or two afterwards. Now, suppose Mr. HARVEY to come to my farm, and suppose me to invite him to dinner; and suppose him seeing the dinner carried into the room where we are to dine. Then suppose me to come to him, and say: "'Pon my soul, HARVEY, I am very sorry for it; but, really, you must go and get a dinner where you can, for my cow-shag will not suffer you to dine here." Suppose this, now, would not Mr. HARVEY

say, "Away with your excuses, you damned hypocrite"? No, perhaps he would not swear; but he would certainly say: "You hypocritical scoundrel, why don't you tell me that your shepherd's dog objects to my dining here?"

Mr. HARVEY has sought a public employment: somebody must have public employments; and very few men are more fit than Mr. HARVEY: at any rate, it is his taste; and he has a perfect right to pursue it, if he choose. But, the way to great riches or place without complete servility, is too difficult a road to travel. When I came from America in the year 1800, my writings in that country, together with the capacity I possessed, put it in my power to have been almost the fashioner of my own fortune; for, though GEORGE ROSE and Co. could not possibly calculate upon my having *thirty-four years of such stuff in me*, they saw that I had a good deal; and it was very desirable for them either to have it on *their* side, or to make it *not to be*. JOHN REEVES, who was always sincerely my friend, asked me, the second time I saw him, what course I intended to take with the Minister-people: "because," said he, "you should understand that we have two distinct courses here: one is to *kiss* their —, and the other is to *kick* them. I pursue the former course, as being by far the most profitable, as well as the most pleasant: you must do what you like." "Then," said I, "*I shall kick*." "Well," said he, "I wish you well through it; but you will have a rough time of it, I can tell you that." Never was any thing truer: he reminded me of it, when he came to see me in NEWGATE. REEVES died, they say, worth two hundred thousand pounds; and if I die worth the same sum, *cutting off all the noughts*, it will be very well; for I have led a happier life than REEVES ever led, and my name will be remembered, and frequently in men's mouths, for ages yet to come. I have had numerous and powerful enemies, and have them still; but I trust that it will be

said of me, that no man ever even attempted to do me serious injustice without receiving punishment from me of some sort or other, and in a greater or less degree.

Now, Mr. HARVEY does not appear to have resolved to *kick* them, and he could not bring himself to the act of *kissing*. Whether he will now do the former, I cannot tell; but I trust that he never will again degrade talent by submitting his character to the lovely tribunal above named.

TOTAL REPEAL OF THE MALT DUTY.

A petition, of which the following is a copy, has been prepared, and will be shortly submitted for the signatures of the inhabitants of this town and vicinity.

To the honourable House of Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

The humble petition of the inhabitants of the town and county of Kingston-upon-Hull and its vicinity,

Showeth,—That your petitioners beg leave to represent to your honourable House, that in their opinion, of all the burdens borne by your petitioners, the duty imposed upon malt appears to be one of the heaviest and most oppressive, particularly when the system of restrictions, regulations, and penalties adopted by the legislature, for securing the said duties, are taken into consideration, which prevents the maltster "from doing as he pleases with his own," and which restrictions, &c., materially increase the price of the article, and decrease the price of barley. The maltsters being surrounded with no less than from sixty to seventy penalties in the process of malting, which may be incurred by him in the course of fourteen days, amounting to several thousand pounds.

Your petitioners further beg leave to state, that the malt tax is partial and unjust in its bearing, and exorbitant in amount, compared to the consumption and means of the consumers, being upwards of seventy per cent. above the

price of barley; and taking the population of the kingdom in the year 1753, at six millions and a half, who consumed four bushels and twenty-six pints of malt by each person, at that period; and comparing the population of the present time, with the consumption of malt and the quantity manufactured, it will readily appear that each person now only consumes one bushel and fifty-six pints of malt, or thereabouts; therefore, they further beg to observe, that if the consumption of malt had kept pace with the increase of population, it would have created an additional demand for barley, and rendered a great benefit to the agriculture of the kingdom, together with an increased demand for labour.

We, therefore, your humble petitioners, entreat your honourable House, as an act of policy, justice, and humanity, to take this, our petition, into your most serious consideration, and grant us relief, viz., a total repeal of the malt duty, and the restrictions upon the manufacture thereof, and your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

RURAL AFFAIRS.

COBBETT-CORN.

FOR, in spite of the parsons and the bull-frog farmers, this *shall* be the name of it, and *must* be the name of it. This corn now bids fair to stand the very first on the list of good things in England. The flour of this corn is now sold at fourteen shillings a bushel, while the finest wheat flour is not much more than half the price. The flour is sold in packages, under the name of "*Indian Golden Polenta*," at No. 2, ARTHUR-STREET, leading from London Bridge to the Monument. It was sold for *sixpence* a pound; that is to say, at the rate of twenty-eight shillings a bushel; but it is now sold at *eightpence* a pound, in consequence of the great demand, and of the short supply; that is to say, at the rate of one pound seventeen shillings a bushel. The vender

very honestly calls it "*a preparation, made from Cobbett-Corn*." I see the Corn now in all the seedsmen's shops, and I see it in the shops at *Covent Garden*; and it is absolutely necessary to distinguish it by the name of *Cobbett-Corn*; because there is American corn in the market, and French corn, which is not only mere rubbish compared to my corn in point of quality; but, if bought to plant, must wholly disappoint the person who plants it, seeing that it will not ripen in England; and, indeed, it is a totally inferior thing altogether.

I have formerly noticed that there are two sorts of this corn, the large and the small, which latter has been cultivated to any extent, this last year for the first time. The small is earlier than the large; but I do not think that it can be made to bear so great a crop. Lord VERNON has taken great pains in the cultivation of both sorts of corn; and I have one plant of the small corn now to be seen at my shop in *Bolt-court*, grown by his lordship, which is a perfect prodigy of vegetation. It has six complete fine ears, which contain not less than *six ounces of fine flour*, sufficient to make a pudding of considerable size. With great care five tons of the finest flour may be produced from one statute acre of land, which is six times as much as can be produced by the means of wheat.

Besides the value of this plant as a producer of food, whether for man or for other animals, it is exceedingly valuable as yielding the means of making good and sweet beds and pillows, which, it is very well known, it does make in the West Indies, Portugal, Spain, Italy, and in all the countries where the plant grows. My Lord VERNON has taken the pains to have a pillow made as a specimen, and has had the goodness to give it to me to be shown to the public at my shop, where it is deposited for that purpose.

I have always contended, that, if the cultivation of this corn succeeded in England, the introduction of it, and the causing of it to be generally cultivated, would be the greatest benefit that any one man ever conferred upon any one

country; ten million times surpassing in value all the inventions of machinery and steam; but, this honour does not belong to me, except in as far as relates to all manner of exertions to spread a knowledge of the thing throughout the country, and to urge people on to the cultivation. Those who have read my "TREATISE ON THE CORN," know that the large sort was introduced in 1826, by my eldest son (WILLIAM), who brought an ear from the Continent, and who first planted it at KENSINGTON. They know that it was he that urged me to try it upon a large scale at BARN ELM, in Surrey. They now ought to be told, that he also introduced the *small corn* four years ago; that he gave some to Mr. THOMAS POYNTER, of Fulham, and that from Mr. POYNTER my Lord VERNON got some seed, which he has cultivated with such surprising success. I never was a plagiarist, not even to the smallest extent: if I have made use of thoughts which I have acquired in conversation, I have always contrived, somehow or other, to give them not as my own; I must not, therefore, rob my own son. I know that this corn will make the greatest of all revolutions in the agriculture of this country. I am sure that it will make an addition of one-third to the produce of the food in all that part of England which is south of the town of NORTHAMPTON. A farmer in Lancashire has grown a crop of this corn every year; and he has the boldness (he is a *Lancastrian*, observe) to *challenge me*; but I speak far within bounds, when I speak of all that part of England, south of the town of NORTHAMPTON. This, then, is a prodigious revolution in this greatest of all human affairs. It must reflect lasting honour on the man who introduced it; and that honour will belong to WILLIAM COBBETT, my eldest son, who has taken more pains about this matter than many and many a man, even Jew or Quaker, would have taken in the gaining of a fortune as great as man could possess. He has now got land, and all the means of giving effect to every wish that he has relative to this corn; and, if he live until this year be out, I am con-

vinced that his proceedings of this year will *plant this corn for ever as the greatest product of England*.

As I said before, I now see it in all the seedsmen's shops. I sell it at my shop, both sorts, though I have very little to sell. Great injury will arise to those who plant American or French corn; because it will not ripen; and because it is, comparatively, poor stuff, if it do. The best way is to get it from a neighbour, or from some one who has grown it in England. If you buy of seedsmen, purchase it *in the ear, and with the husk still attached to it*; this will be a proof of its having been raised in England, and that will be enough. To know how to carry on the cultivation well, you must read my "*Treatise on Cobbett-Corn*"; but upon a small scale this is not necessary.

LOCUST SEED.

I have now some of this seed, which I warrant to be of the right sort, having received it from the banks of the *Susquehannah*, which I sell at eight shillings a pound. A pound of seed, according to my instructions in the book called the "*Woodlands*," will yield from eight to ten thousand plants.

LOCUST TREES.

I have about ten thousand, which are very fine, which have been *removed*, and which I sell for five pounds a thousand, packed securely up, and delivered at any wagon, or any wharf, in London.

GARDEN-SEEDS.

I notified last week, that I should not, in future, make any distinction in price, whether a single bag or a number of bags, a single pound or a number of pounds, were sold; and that the prices would be as follows:

Deep red mangel wurzel seed 9d. a pound; true, sound, and fresh.

Swedish turnip seed, which I warrant to be the finest and truest that ever was raised in England, 9d. a pound.

Bags of seed for large gardens (the seeds tied up in paper bags, and those

sewed up in a canvass bag), with a printed list of the seeds in the inside, along with a manuscript card of my writing, with the following words on it, "Garden seeds, raised at Normandy farm, in 1833, by Wm. Cobbett," 25s. each.

Bags for small gardens, having all the same sorts of seeds, but in half the quantity of the preceding, with printed list and card the same, 12s. 6d. each.

PRECIOUS MATTER.

FOR many years I have said, that the corruption, the jobs, and all sorts of abuses, were worse in the city than at WHITEHALL and ST. STEPHEN'S. When Mr. ATTWOOD received the freedom of the city, I besought him not to deem it a thing of any value. It is the most scandalous scene of jobbing that ever existed in the world; and, until Mr. WILLIAMS was in the Common Council, the public were kept profoundly ignorant of the whole matter. Patriot, in the city, means *plunderer*. I take the following article from the *Morning Chronicle* of Saturday last. It has made my blood boil, to think that I am thus used by this crew. The great Government is a mild and innocent and modest thing compared with this band of cormorants. Only think of the poorest of the poor people of London being taxed to the amount of 12,000*l.* a year on their potatoes which are brought to the wharfs! At no time did the boroughmonger Parliament stand so much in need of reforming as this corporation stands in need of it now. Only think of its having a sort of "*national debt*." Only think of its having a "*national faith*," as an excuse for taking away our earnings. Like the great Government, it has taxes direct and indirect. God give me despotism in name to live under, rather than subject me to this corporation. To it, however, I am subjected; and extricate myself from the subjection I will, if I can.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*, 25. Jan. 1834.)

At the Court of Common Council, on Thursday last, Mr. CHARLES PEARSON presented a petition from the potato salesmen, complaining of the enormous expense attending the landing of potatoes in the port of London, which was referred to the Committee of General Purposes.

In our report of the proceedings of the Common Council, we merely mentioned the presentation of the petition. We understand, however, that the statement produced a considerable sensation. The petitioners complained first of the metage, which was 1*s.* 4*d.* a ton. Another item of which they complained was the excessive amount charged by the porters for landing the potatoes, who had a monopoly from the corporation. Every porter pays 34*l.* 11*s.* for his freedom, besides other sums, amounting in all to from 45*l.* to 50*l.*, and for this he indemnifies himself at the expense of the community. The petitioners stated, that in Liverpool, Hull, and other out-ports, potatoes could be landed for 1*s.* a ton, and there was therefore no reason why more should be demanded in London. As the quantity of potatoes imported into London was not less than seventy thousand tons, here was a burden on a necessary of life of 3,700*l.* for metage, and 9,000*l.* for portorage, amounting in all to upwards of 12,000*l.*

A scene followed the presentation of the petition which deserves some notice. Mr. R. Taylor rose and said he thought the grievance complained of by the petitioners was one which ought to be removed, and the petition should, therefore, have his support. Mr. Taylor then referred to the readiness which had been shown to afford information to the Corporation Commissioners on all matters connected with the corporation, with a view to obtain the correction of abuses, which there was no disposition in that court to protect; and, therefore, he could not but feel indignant at statements which had been made on that subject in the *Morning Chronicle* by several individuals who ought to have known better. On this

Mr. Williams arose, and requested Mr. Richard Taylor to name the members of that court to whom he alluded. He was not the author of any of the statements in the *Morning Chronicle*, with the exception of one to which his name was attached; but he had read them all, and his impression was that they were all true. He wished Mr. Taylor would, however, point out any of the statements which were calumnious, that he might be able to give a positive answer. Mr. Richard Taylor, however, remained silent; and on being further pressed to name the persons to whom he alluded, he answered, "The editor of the *Morning Chronicle*." Mr. Williams animadverted on the difference between "several individuals," and "the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*"; but Mr. R. Taylor here came to "a lame and impotent conclusion."

When we find individuals in the city receiving lordly incomes from such sources as the metage of potatoes, we need not be surprised that hitherto city patriots have carefully avoided interfering with city abuses, which have been, as it were, "tabooed." The commerce of London has already suffered greatly from many heavy charges; and though, in consequence of the notice of the subject during the discussions on the coal trade, and on some other occasions, an improvement took place, yet there is much still to be remedied. A man who receives 3,700*l.* a year must have many friends, and candidates for city honours will think twice before they cross him. There are many large incomes in the city derived from the public; though it requires considerable local knowledge to ferret out the various sources from which a single income may be derived, as the same individual fills often a variety of apparently incongruous offices. However, as an effectual demand from without has been made on the city, reform can no longer be staved off; and it is gratifying to know that the conventional silence, on certain topics, which so long prevailed in the Common Council, is now at an end; and that independent men have found their way, who have no other desire than to put

an end to the abuses, from which two millions of inhabitants now suffer.

When we are on the subject of abuses, we cannot help reverting to the subject of Farringdon-market, which, when it is thoroughly understood by members of Parliament, will, we trust, be made the subject of serious charge against the last Ministry. Improvement is a specious word. Almost all the municipal corporations throughout the country were great patrons of improvement. We are not prepared to say that there may not be cases in which it is allowable to devote public money to improvements, though we believe the most of the cases in which public money has hitherto been so applied, are little better than jobs. The pretext for cutting the Caledonian Canal, was finding employment for the Highlanders, that they might not be forced to emigrate. The pretext for expending millions in canals in Canada, was the military security of the colony. In Ireland large sums have been from time to time expended in public works, to furnish relief for the poor, whom the landowners turn out to starve. But though the justification of such expenditure may be very questionable, there is still something like justification. But we are utterly at a loss to know what justification Government can have for advancing money for aiding the citizens of London to job a new market. We trust Mr. HUME, and other vigilant guardians of the public purse, will inquire into the history of this advance, which is curious. But before further observation, we will just state what was the advance of Government to the city for the Farringdon-market, and what is the return received for the advance:

250,000*l.* was borrowed of Government for erecting Farringdon-market, and the improvement of Farringdon-street; which latter consisted of pulling down Fleet-market, repairing the sewer, and re-paving the street in which it stood. This sum, within a mere trifle, was expended upon these objects. A very large portion was expended in buying up the houses which stood upon the site of the new market, and in giving compensa-

tion to the occupiers, for loss of trade, &c.

The compensation Government is to receive for the 250,000*l.* is—

	£.	s.	d.
For twenty-seven years, from 1831, per annum...	11,500	0	0
Arising from pumps or aqueducts	350	0	0
Half the profit of the market in 1832	2	6	11

Which was represented to Government as certain to produce at least 1,500*l.* per annum. After the expiration of 27 years, no more money is to be paid, either in the shape of interest or the principal. By this transaction the Government has sacrificed 250,000*l.* of the public money, on the consideration of receiving for it less than $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. interest for 27 years.

	£.	s.	d.
The New Farringdon-market produced in 1832	1430	3	8
Deduct for various expenses, repairs, and outlays	1425	9	10

Leaving a net profit of only 4 13 10

Old Fleet Market produced in 1828, which is an average of former years	3032	0	5
Deduct for various expenses, repairs, and outlays	714	15	14

Leaving a net profit of .. 2317 4 7

So, then, we find the Duke of Wellington has been so liberal to the city as to make it a present of 250,000*l.*, for an annuity of 11,500*l.* for 27 years, and 350*l.* a year, and 2*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.* Nothing is so easy as to calculate the value of an annuity of 11,500*l.* for 27 years, and the value of the two rents of 350*l.*, and 2*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.*; and whoever makes the calculation will find that the Duke of Wellington has made a present of a large sum of public money to the city. It is no justification of his Grace that he was duped by the city jobbers. He was, no doubt, assured that the Farringdon-market would turn out a more profitable concern than the Manchester railroad; but we humbly submit that it is

not the business of Government to speculate in investing money to advantage. No more money should be taken from the people than what is absolutely necessary to carry on the public business of the country and the charge on the debt, and what remains after paying the interest should be applied towards the discharge of the principal. But we have heard that the Corporation of London is not the only one to which questionable advances have been made by the late Government.

We have stated merely in gross that a sum of 250,000*l.* has been literally thrown away. But there is a proverb, that fools throw away money, and wise men pick it up. Now though we cannot say much for the wisdom of the Duke of WELLINGTON in making a present of so large a sum to the Corporation of London, yet we should be surprised if the money did not find its way into the pockets of very shrewd people. It sometimes happens that the application of money throws light on the motives of projectors; and in order that no necessary information calculated to elucidate the subject, which we can obtain, may be wanting, we will, on a future day, lay the particulars of the application before our readers, observing, by the way, that we do not mean to blame the wise men who made hay while the sun was shining.

The city of London had large revenues of its own, and the magnificence of its establishments might be justifiable so long as it was supported out of its own estates. But having exhausted its legitimate income on improvements, its magnificence is now, like many other burdens, thrown on the inhabitants of the metropolis and surrounding country. Let us inquire, for instance, into the sources for meeting the expenditure connected with London Bridge. The Bridge House Estate was mortgaged for building New London Bridge, and making the approaches thereto, for 750,000*l.* After this sum was expended, 1,000,000*l.* more was borrowed for making the approaches, for which four per cent. interest is to be paid. The payment of both interest and principal is secured by

a duty of *eightpence* per ton for coals brought into the port of London, which amounts to from 70,000*l.* to 80,000*l.* a year, and the levying of this duty is secured by act of Parliament. These are large sums to be at the disposal of a city Parliament. The whole population of the city does not exceed 100,000; and a majority of the Common Council was returned by three or four thousand individuals. The representatives, then, of three or four thousand individuals, have, we see, a tax levied from two millions of people at their disposal. This is a matter that demands inquiry; and it cannot be treated with indifference.

The following are the particulars of the potato duty alluded to by us:—

Yearly importation, not less than 70,000 tons, pay for metage 1*s.* 4*d.* per ton..... £ 4,700

The landing of potatoes in the out-ports is not more than 1*s.* per ton, while in the port of London it is 2*s.* 4*d.* difference 4,700

£9,400

The whole charge on the importation of potatoes is as follows:—

Metage (a sinecure—as no duty whatever is done) on the annual import, 70,000 tons £ 4,700

Porterage for landing, 2*s.* 4*d.* 8,100

£12,800

Edinburgh, 25. January, 1834.

DEAR SIR,—I have sent you a copy of the *Scotsman* newspaper, dated January 25, 1834. In that paper you will see that Dr. CHALMERS has been quoting passages from a late number of your *Register*, addressed to the "*Hampshire Parsons*." Dr. CHALMERS is the great pillar of our national church, and is Professor of Divinity in the University of this city. The circum-

stance of his quoting your writings, at a late meeting of Presbytery, has excited a good deal of astonishment.

Please to take notice of the garbled manner in which the Doctor quotes you. He begins with, "I was a sincere churchman;" then he omits this part of the sentence, "not that I had any particular attachment to its doctrines or its ritual; not because I thought that belonging to its communion made men better than those who did not belong to its communion"; then he goes on, "but because experience has convinced me," &c., quoting consecutively till he arrives at the paragraph beginning, "But in proportion as I was its friend, I was of necessity the enemy of those pluralists and non-residents who were paving the way for its destruction," &c. This the Doctor omits, because it would not have been very palatable to some of the pluralists whom he was addressing.

He then skips over six columns of excellent matter, and alights upon your description of what an established church ought to be, forgetting at the same time to point out to his hearers how unlike both the English and Scottish church establishments are to that description, and how likely it is that both of them will be swept away by the force of public opinion, from the very circumstance of their not bearing any resemblance to that description. It is a great pity that the learned Doctor, instead of quoting only two passages, did not read the whole letter; or, if he could not do that, he might at least have given the following sentence. One minute more would have sufficed.

"Is there any man who has the impudence to say that this establishment was ordered by Jesus Christ, or by his apostles? Oh, no! We know very well who it was ordained by; we have the acts of Parliament to refer to; and we know very well that that which an act of Parliament can make, another act of Parliament can unmake."

"The law! Does she talk of the law? Does she say that she founds

"her right on the *law*? Agreed. We know, alas! too well, that she now has this law; but we have the happiness to know that acts of Parliament are not eternal, and that that which the law has done, the law can *undo*. In short, we are all a mass of dissenters together; and one sect has no more right to the tithes and the edifice of the church than another sect, other than the right given by the law, which may rightfully be repealed at any time that the Parliament may choose to repeal it."

The whole thing shows that your writings are more extensively read than your enemies are willing to allow, and that they find their way into certain quarters, of which the public in general have very little suspicion.

In case you have not met with the following passage relating to Indian Corn, I beg to extract it, as it may be of some use. It is from "The Tyrol, with a Glance at Babaria, by H. D. Inglis." It was published last year by Whitaker and Co, Ave-Maria-lane.

The author is speaking of the Tyrolese peasantry, and of the great use they make of Indian Corn as an article of diet. He then says,

"The cultivation of Indian corn has made some noise in England; and has excited some interest, owing to the idea, that its cultivation would ameliorate the condition of the lower classes; and there have been, in fact, two parties in this matter; one asserting its great advantages, and its adaptation to the climate of England; and the other denying both. I am no agriculturalist, and am able only to state facts. As to the advantages of the cultivation of Indian corn, I can only say, that throughout the valley of the Inn, it is considered the most useful and the surest produce; and that the peasantry who live upon it, are the finest peasantry in Europe; and with respect to its fitness for the climate of England, I would only observe, that the climate of the Upper Tyrol is most uncertain. Its centre is *two thousand feet* above the level of the sea; and its winters are ex-

"tremely severe; and, although from its more southern latitude than England, the heats of summer are great, the summer is late; as some proof of which, I may state, that near the end of June, I was under the necessity of having a stove lighted in the hotel at Insprack. I do not know how these facts bear upon the probable success of Indian corn in England; but if Indian corn be supposed to require a milder climate than that of England, I think the success of Indian corn in the Upper Tyrol, proves this to be an error. The same fruits that come to perfection in the southern parts of England, will not ripen in the Valley of the Inn."

I am sorry I cannot give the page, as I have not the work at present by me, and am only copying from a large extract given in a periodical publication.

I am, very respectfully,
your most obedient servant,

Wm. Cobbett, Esq., M. P.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 24, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

BRADLEY, W., Newgate-street, linen-draper.
MAYLARD, T., Tring, Hertfordshire, draper.

BANKRUPTS.

ADAMS, A., Mare-street, Hackney, linen-draper.
BORRON, J. A., Cadishead, Lancashire, merchant.
CLARK, T., sen., Swinford, Leicestershire, cattle-salesman.
HAMMOND, T., London-wall, and Milton-street, Fore-street, Cripplegate, farrier.
LAMB, B., Stones-end, Newington, corn-dealer.
LAMPLOUGH, C., Bridlington, Yorkshire, linen-draper.
RAMSAY, D., Gloucester-road, Old Brompton, nurseryman.
SHEARCRAFT, J., Howland-street, Fitzroy-square, tailor.
WHEATCROFT, J. & M., Sheffield, joiners'-tool-manufacturers.
WILSON, R., Lawrence Pountney-hill, wine-merchant.

TUESDAY, JAN. 28, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

BROWNE, J., Stroud, Gloucestersh., coach-maker.
WATSON, J., jun., Park Gate Works, Rotherham, York, iron-manufacturer.
WHITE, T., Houndsditch, carrier.

BANKRUPTS.

EDGE CUMBE, J., Bath, cooper.
ELLIMAN, G., late of Watford, Herts, grocer.
FORSTER, W., Liverpool, tailor.
HUGHES, H., Henry-street, Hampstead-road, builder.
MARSHALL, R., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, merchant.
MORRIS, R., South Hamlet, Gloucestershire, corn-factor.
M'CALL, A., Manchester, merchant.
PARKER, T., Manchester, victualler.
PHILLIPS, R., jun., Chiswell-street, Finsbury-square, auctioneer.
ROSE, W., Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, inn-keeper.
SADLER, W. T., Norwich, innkeeper.
STOCKLIN, G., and **T. Wakelin**, Kenilworth, Warwickshire, comb-manufacturers.
VENABLES, W., Lamb's Conduit-street, draper.
WHITEHEAD, J., and **P. Fryer**, Barton-upon-Irwell, cotton-spinners.
WOOSTER, T., and **Son**, Coal-exchange, coal-factors.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Jan. 27.—We were rather more liberally supplied with grain this morning from Essex and Kent, and particularly from Suffolk. Although some of the vessels were anticipated, and the cargoes had been sold, yet we had a good many fresh samples offering. The condition of the Wheat exhibited strong proofs of the length of its voyage, and the samples generally were extremely cold and rough, and attracted little attention on the part of the millers. Fine dry selected parcels realized fully Monday's quotations, but all other descriptions were nearly unsaleable. A little inquiry still existed for low-priced bonded Corn.

The supply of Barley was large, and as there were a few purchasers at market, the trade was extremely heavy, malting descriptions receding 1s. per qr., and distilling and grinding 1s. to 2s., and a good deal left on hand at the close of the day.

Malt remains extremely difficult to quit.

Oats in good supply, and the sale slow and dull at rather lower rates than those realized this day week.

Beans moved off at Monday's rates.

White Peas as well as Grey hung on hand,

though they might have been bought on rather lower terms.

Flour was very dull, but prices were unaltered.

Wheat	50s. to 59s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	25s. to 27s.
— fine	30s. to 32s.
Peas, White	—s. to —s.
— Boilers	40s. to —s.
— Grey	33s. to 37s.
Beans, Small	34s. to 39s.
— Tick	30s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	24s. to 26s.
— Feed	19s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new, ...	90s. to 95s.
— Mess, new ...	56s. to 62s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast ...	80s. to 82s. per cwt.
— Carlow ...	80s. to 84s.
— Cork ...	73s. to 74s.
— Limerick ...	72s. to 73s.
— Waterford ...	70s. to 76s.
— Dublin ...	66s. to —s.

SMITHFIELD, January 27.

This day's supply of Beasts, and, for the time of year, Sheep, was moderately good, both as to numbers and quality; its supply of Calves and Porkers rather limited. Trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull. With Veal at a depression of from 4d. to 6d. per stone; with Beef, Mutton, and Pork, at Friday's quotations.

Full three-fourths of the beasts consisted of about equal numbers of short-horns, Devons, and Scots, and the remaining fourth of about equal numbers of Herefords, Welsh runts, and Irish, with about fifty Sussex beasts, as many Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c.

Full three-fifths of the Sheep were South-Downs, about one-fifth new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the South-Down and white-faced crosses, and the remaining fifth about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About 1,300 of the beasts, chiefly short-horns, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Scots, Herefords, and Irish beasts, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and other of our northern grazing districts; about 950, chiefly Scots, with, perhaps, 200 short-horns and Devons, and about 100 home-breds from Norfolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 150, mostly Devons and runts, with a few Herefords and Irish beasts, from our midland and western districts; about 80, chiefly Sussex

beasts, with a few Devons and runts from Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the stall-feeders and cow-keepers, &c. near London.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Jan. 31.

The arrivals this week are large. The market dull, and the prices rather lower than on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. Cons. Ann. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur
	88 $\frac{3}{4}$	88 $\frac{3}{4}$	88 $\frac{1}{2}$	82 $\frac{3}{4}$	88 $\frac{1}{4}$	88 $\frac{1}{4}$

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COBBETT'S Spelling-Book (Price 2s.)

Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

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This I have written by way of

A Stepping-Stone to my own Grammar;

such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

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3. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a little Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with a Postscript, containing an account of the Prices of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in bds.

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8. MARTENS'S LAW OF NATIONS.—This is the Book which was the foundation of all the knowledge that I have ever possessed relative to public law. The Price is 17s., and the manner of its execution is I think, such as to make it fit for the Library of any Gentleman.

9. MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT'S RIDE OF EIGHT HUNDRED MILES IN FRANCE. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d.

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The names (under that of each County respectively), in Alphabetical Order, of all the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and Tithings, with the Distance of each from London, or from the nearest Market Town, and with the Population, and other interesting particulars relating to each; besides which there are

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First, one of the whole country, showing the local situation of the Counties relatively to each other; and, then, each County is also preceded by a Map, showing, in the same manner, the local situation of the Cities, Boroughs, and Market Towns.

FOUR TABLES

Are added; first, a Statistical Table of all the Counties, and then three Tables, showing the new Divisions and Distributions enacted by the Reform-Law of 4th June, 1832.

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AND ALSO IN PART OF

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The route being

From Paris, through Lyons, to Marseilles, and, thence, to Nice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Rome, Naples, and Mount Vesuvius;

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In the Lottery just finished, BISH and his Agents sold both the Grand Capitals and every other Prize in the Scheme above 1000l. (except one) ALL IN SHARES, and in the preceding Glasgow Lottery more than two-thirds of all the Capitals, and all in Shares, which were distributed all over the various parts of the United Kingdom.

"COLES'S TRUSS IS THE BEST."

I am ready to subscribe to the truth of this assertion, which appears on the front (I will not say ornaments his establishment at Charing Cross) and I can do it from personal experience. Having in the course of thirty years tried a great many trusses, I have recommended Coles's Truss to several persons, particularly professional characters, and intend, if I live, to continue to do so, being convinced, that in promoting the general adoption of Coles's Patent Trusses, I am serving a meritorious mechanic and the cause of humanity.

THOMAS RICHARDSON.

West Hendon House, near Sunderland.

1st Month, 10th, 1834.

I can subscribe to a similar testimonial, after having tried several other trusses without experiencing its complete prevention.

THOMAS EDMONDS.

Wycombe, Bucks.

1st Month, 21st, 1834.

Sir,—I have been wearing trusses of different kinds for the last thirty years, but never found one of them to keep up the rupture effectually, until thirteen months since I purchased one of your patent: and, although my rupture came down in a most frightful manner then, it has never come down since, nor have I scarcely the appearance of ever having had such a complaint. At my age, 77 years, I do not intend leaving off wearing a truss, and I know too well the importance of your ingenious contrivance to keep the world in ignorance of it.

JAMES SHARE, Commander, R. N.

19, Bury-street, Bloomsbury,

28th May, 1832.

Colonel Francklin informs those who have ruptures, that he has been wearing trusses thirty years, and he never met with but one individual who was master of the complaint. He has likewise an elder brother, a Colonel in the Honourable East India Company's service, who has worn a similar kind of truss for many years, who can say the same. Mr. Coles of Charing-cross, is the individual alluded to.

Blackheath, July 16th, 1832.

Sir,—Having the misfortune to rupture myself several years ago, I purchased one of Salmon's self-adjusting Trusses, which, although it afforded me considerable relief, did not entirely keep the rupture in its place, particularly when I had to stand for any length of time. I felt a disagreeable gnawing pain, attended with a bearing down of the hernia, so that I was frequently unable to wear the truss. In mentioning to a friend what I had suffered, he strongly advised me to try one of your patent, which I did, and found to my great comfort, that it kept up the rupture effectually, without producing any of those painful sensations which I had endured while

wearing the ball and socket truss, and I can now stand or walk for hours together without the least pain or inconvenience, in fact, as well as though I had never been ruptured. I send you this statement to make what use of it you please.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM MATTHEWS,

Quarter-Master, Royal Artillery.

Woolwich, Sept. 12th, 1832.

A gentleman at Lloyd's Coffee House has also sent Mr. Coles a similar testimonial of his case, which had been of thirty years' standing.

Sir,—While serving the office of first lieutenant of a line-of-battle ship off Toulon, in 1809, I had the misfortune, through extreme fatigue, to bring on a rupture. Since that period I have tried every description of truss which came to my knowledge, but I never succeeded in supporting the hernia effectually until 1831, when I purchased two of your Patent Trusses; and it is but justice to own that no descent has occurred since I have worn them, and I freely give you liberty to publish this testimonial in favour of your excellent invention.

I am, sir, yours obediently,

J. P. BAKER, Commander, R. N.

28, Duke-street, Manchester-square,

Oct. 17, 1832.

Sir,—Seven years ago I applied to you to stop a rupture, which I have laboured under upwards of fifty years, which was as large as a man's head, which you accomplished with apparent ease, when no person that I had previously consulted, was able to stop it a single day. I am now 86, and am entirely free from any external appearance of the complaint. My object in writing this testimonial, is, not merely to express my gratitude for the services you have rendered me, but to guard my fellow sufferers against the use of imperfect trusses.

GEORGE CARPENTER.

24, Regent-street,

21st October, 1832.

A surgeon of the R. N., about 60 years of age, who had been wearing trusses of several different kinds, employed one of Coles's manufacture, and ere he had half worn it out, threw it aside, and left his trusses in London, while he made a tour on the continent. Being at sea and exposed to severe weather, a sea sickness brought on the complaint, and he was compelled a second time to wear his truss, and after wearing it about twelve months, has again been perfectly cured, and does not wear a truss.

Sir Astley Cooper knows a case which had been getting worse for thirty years, and which had escaped a hundred times a day, and does not escape from Coles's Truss.

SIR.—In November last I purchased one of your Patent Trusses. I was then suffering severely from a hernia of thirty-six years' standing, which has escaped from my truss twenty or thirty times in a day. I am now happy to state, that it never escaped from your truss: and I have no hesitation in pronouncing it to be of more value, when compared with any truss I had previously worn, than gold when compared with silver.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM MINTRAM.

No. 7, Burlington Arcade,
July 12th, 1833.

COLONEL GREEN hesitates not to acknowledge, that the trusses furnished to him by Mr. Coles have effectually put a stop to his malady. He cannot say that of any other truss which he has worn for the last thirty years.

No. 3, Windham-place, Montagu-square,
August 27th, 1833.

SIR,—Having worn trusses for twenty years, and suffered the most excruciating pain of strangulated hernia, which occurred while wearing my truss, and, without a doubt, should have lost my life, but for the great skill and attention paid me by Mr. Mayo in the operation. And, notwithstanding I had the best medical aid, and, as I supposed, the best trusses that could be procured, my rupture continually increased, and escaped from every truss that I had employed, until I had yours; and am happy to state, that I now feel perfectly comfortable, and more secure, under every position of the body, than at any period, either before or since I underwent the operation.

I am, Sir, with gratitude, yours, &c.,
JOHN QUICK.

No. 70, Great Titchfield-street, Marylebone,
June 14th, 1833.

SIR,—About twelve months since I purchased one of your Patent Trusses for my father, Lieutenant Munro, who has worn trusses thirty years, and such is the estimation in which your truss is held by him, that he would not part with it for the value of all the trusses he had previously worn.

I am, Sir,
your very humble servant,
A. T. MUNRO,

Lieut. and Adjut. Royal Horse Guards.
Tain, 21st Sept. 1833.

John Borthwick Gilchrist, Esq. has published his case. He had been a great sufferer for many years from rupture, and he says that none of the Truss-makers in Germany, Belgium, France, Switzerland, nor in England, except Mr. Coles, ever made him an efficient truss, whose professional abilities, he adds, combined with his truly scientific discovery justly entitles him to universal confidence.—See *Doctor*, No. 69.

* * * Read the case of William Cobbett, Esq. published in Boyle's "Court Guide" for Jan. 1833—4.

INDIAN PEARL AND GOLDEN PO. LENTA.—These beautiful preparations from Maize, or Cobbett-Corn, dressed as finely as wheaten flour. The Pearl is made from the white corn, and the Golden from the yellow.

"In my family, and of course under the direction of my wife, we have in the first place, suet puddings boiled; batter puddings; Yorkshire puddings, baked under the meat; and baked puddings, in which the corn supplies the place of ground rice. We have all these puddings in the greatest perfection, made wholly of corn flour. The corn flour is more nutritious, pound for pound, than the wheat flour; this is proved by the fact, that it requires a greater quantity of water or milk to make it into dough."

—Cobbett's Treatise on the Corn.

Prepared and sold, wholesale and retail, by E. H. Bell, 2, Arthur-street, London Bridge; and to be had of Morrell, Avelling, and Bentham, Piccadilly; E. and W. Ball, Bond-street; W. Lazenby, Lambs Conduit-street; Eagles-ton, Newgate-street; Harvey, Oxford-street; C. Butler, Cheapside; T. Sharp, Bishopsgate-street; Nicol and Co., Fenchurch-street; Timbs, Blackman-street, Borough; Barclay and Sons, Farringdon-street; and at the shops of the most respectable Italian warehousemen, grocers, druggists, corn-chandlers, &c.

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BEG the attention of the public to their extensive stock of goods for the present season, which they supply at the following prices:—

FOR CASH ONLY.

	£.	s.	d.
A Suit of Superfine Clothes.....	4	18	0
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Ditto, Imperial Saxony.....	6	0	0
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I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.

WM. COBBETT.

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